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COLETIVO DAS INFRAESTRUTURAS EM DEPENDÊNCIA, DESENCANTAMENTO E DESVIO
INFRASTRUCTURE COLLECTIVE ON DEPENDENCE, DISENCHANTMENT, AND DIVERSION
CAUÊ CAPILLÉ, LUÍSA GONÇALVES, THIAGO DE SOVERAL

PT | EN

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Abstract

Mobility infrastructures materialize the everyday life shared by hundreds of millions who live in Latin American urbanised areas. In other words, they expose important disputes related to the notions of common and the practice of commoning as they articulate daily micropolitics and macropolitics at economic, cultural, and social levels. This paper discusses the constant and implicit

construction of concepts around the idea of collectivity by taking into account both the implementation and the daily use of infrastructures. This work outlines two types of project conventionally applied in Latin America, namely "hyper-mobility" and "hyper-immobility," based especially on the realities identified in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. We analyze notions of collectiveness that emerge from such projects: economic dependency, for the former, and disenchantment about everyday politics, for the latter. We discuss, then, the universal ideas of "good urbanity" which are often understood as mandatory precedents for Latin American realities. Finally, we propose a third kind of approach, labelled "hacking", which suggests reinforcing existing collective diversion powers within the infrastructure's nodal spaces as a project for "spatial activism."

Keywords: Infrastructure, Collective architecture, Urban common, Urban mobility

1 Introduction: Transit and Infrastructure in Latin American Demands

The distances of a megalopolis are impossible to cross by walking. Such an "unwalkability" produces two simultaneous and interconnected by-products: both the conveyance of movement/mobility to the sphere of infrastructure and the passive stillness of people inside the moving infrastructure. In other words, despite being served by a mobility infrastructure, the body hardly moves in relation to the total commute time between home and work. What is in motion is the infrastructure itself: millions wait, standing still, for the arrival of a vehicle, only to remain standing once inside it. This condition places transit infrastructures at the core of contemporary political and social dispute: they become the arena, the "space of appearance¹" in the daily routine of millions of citizens. Mobility infrastructure is a sort of "compulsory collective space," where contemporary society expresses everyday politics.

It is relevant that some of the main contemporary uprisings in Latin America began or even concentrated their claims around issues related to transit and transport. In June 2013, thousands of protesters took to the streets in several Brazilian cities after violent state repression of actions by the *Passe Livre* Movement [Movement for Free Bus Fares]. In September 2014, after the Football World Cup, demonstrations against the reduction of BRT buses forced Rio de Janeiro to stop for a significant amount of time. In May 2018, truck drivers on strike stopped the country for ten days due to the high price of diesel fuel. In October 2019, the increase in gas prices also affected Ecuador, following a cut in the tax reliefs that made fuel affordable. Also in October 2019, a subway ticket increase in Santiago unleashed student protests, which, after violent repression, spread throughout Chile.

In total, the protesters in these riots, which halted countries for months, involved an extensive and deep agenda related to demands such as better work, education, healthcare and public spaces improvements. In addition, mobility infrastructures (vehicles, stations, roads etc.) simultaneously became the target of destruction and a platform for the *performance* of people as a collective. However, despite the typically large dimensions of infrastructure, these expressions rarely stand out in the urban landscape, especially in relation to underground rail transport, the subway. Sometimes bridges and viaducts are designed to appear monumental, featuring exuberant structures and functioning as symbolic references within the landscape. Nevertheless, except in the few cases of symbolic use, the continuity of that infrastructure, along with its horizontality-oriented character, implies a more diluted visibility than for monumental "objects", even for elevated structures. They form huge, continuous spans, large halls, staircases, and bleachers for the use of crowds, among other significant spaces. Such an ambiguous quality configures a particular environment for the population's coexistence as collectivity: one that is enabled for various purposes due to its size but does not attach symbolic expectations to it, which is the case of spaces notably designed for monumental and civic purposes.

Although infrastructures have a significant disposition to define the (formal, political, and cultural) "figure" of urbanisation and everyday behaviour (Ruby and Ruby, 2017), they are often seen as the simple efficient "background" of the city – an apparent materialisation of basic life conditions, as if they had been built for merely technical reasons. Even through that contemporary appearance² as the central element of urban disputes, infrastructure has been only used as a means for other ends, but not as an end in itself.

For example, the 2013 demonstrations in Brazil had as its motto "It's not just about the 20 cents". People took to the streets for demands beyond an increase in ticket fare, including improvements in basic living conditions and expressing their criticism about the major sports events that Brazil would host (the 2014 Football World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games), in addition to complaints about police brutality and an overall dissatisfaction with the sitting government. These demonstrations were quickly interpreted by different actors

according to their political agenda³. In particular, the symbolic power of these demonstrations was used by conservative sectors to push for their “extraordinary” agenda and project – which have had repercussions in Brazilian national politics up to this day.

A characteristic that has possibly eased such a symbolic and rhetorical appropriation of the demonstrations was precisely the gathering of different voices from divergent social groups and distinct agendas into a profoundly vague, multifaceted (Singer, 2013)⁴, and even contradictory set. Singer (2013) argues that, although there was expressive participation of popular groups⁵, their most urgent complaints were left out of the set of demands. We believe that these groups’ most urgent complaints had been much closer to “ordinary” than to “extra-ordinary” issues; in other words, they were closer to the basic and everyday conditions of urban life: housing, mobility, public spaces, education, and healthcare. Among these, as Maricato (2013) argues, mobility has become one of the most critical issues, simultaneously accumulating immense precariousness and a large portion of public investments.

In short, mobility and its infrastructure expose important disputes around the notions of common and the practice of communing⁶, as they articulate daily micropolitics and macropolitics at economic, cultural, and social levels, which are capable of promoting the “right to mobility” as a fundamental part of the “right to the city” (Verlinghieri and Venturini, 2018). There is, therefore, a constant and implicit development of concepts related to the collective both in the implementation and daily use of an infrastructure. However, there is still no precise understanding on the condition of such an architecture, as planners, architects, and governments often try to intervene through general notions of “good urbanity.” This article seeks to question this construction of collectivity, highlighting two main approaches in the design of infrastructure networks and the way they operate in the cases of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. By analysing the cases of these two metropolises, our aim is to extract lessons to collaborate with discussions on urban planning and architectural design for similar situations in Latin America.

To understand the construction of collective ideas based on the design of mobility infrastructures, the methodology of this article relies on delimiting, characterising, and analysing two main approaches, “hyper-mobility” and “hyper-immobility”. The former will be analysed in the next section and refers to the project focused on increasing the reach of mobility in all metropolitan spaces. We argue that this project reinforces the relationship of economic dependency between peripheral areas and city centres. We analyze hyper-immobility in the third section, grouping urban planning concepts and strategies that seek to produce urban compactness with more efficient use of traffic infrastructure. That section specifically assesses the application of “transit-oriented development” (TOD) in metropolitan peripheries. We argue that this project produces disenchantment towards the idea of collectivity by transforming everyday urban politics into calculable and “safe” return rates.

By means of such a conceptual framework, this paper discusses general ideas of “good urbanity”, which often are imposed upon Latin American without considering the local realities. In the fourth and last section, we propose a third approach in which architecture and the conditions of collective space in the infrastructure are analysed through “hacking”. This proposal takes into consideration the recognition of the potential for collective and civic encounters within nodal spaces of transport infrastructure – arguing for projects that work more coherently with these qualities.

2 The promise of dependency on the collective: hyper-mobility

Latin American metropolises are often spatially characterised by three interrelated conditions (Arredondo, 2005; Hernandez, 2018): by a “centre-periphery” condition of economic, cultural, and political dependency; by territorial distances between urban activities; and by numerous infrastructural deficiencies. These three conditions – dependency, distance, and deficiency – contribute to naturalise a daily and precarious “transit state”, especially for residents at the poor peripheries of a given metropolis, who are submitted to a commute time that can exceed 4 hours a day and are also immersed in peak hour congestions, pollution, and motor accidents (Vasconcellos, Carvalho and Pereira, 2011; Martínez *et al.*, 2018).

The current COVID-19 crisis has made this situation even more critical: in a recent study by the Inter-American Development Bank (2020) on the evolution of traffic in Latin American metropolises (Bogotá, Buenos Aires, Mexico City, Guadalajara, Guayaquil, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago, and São Paulo), mass public transportation continued to be heavily used during the pandemic, with an average of 56% use for all metropolises. This average is even higher in the case of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, where around 70% of the population continued using public transport daily in 2020. In fact, in these two metropolises, buses, trains, and subways became even more crowded during that period, as there were several reductions in the operating fleet of vehicles (Alves and Mihessen, 2020). This policy highlights the deep and critical entrenchment of the “transit state” in Latin America, even in the face of a global healthcare crisis.

In the metropolis of Rio de Janeiro, the average commute time is two hours and twenty-one minutes, the longest in Brazil. In fact, the scope of the mobility problem in Rio became evident in a report developed by SEBRAE (2013), which assessed the territorial dynamics of infrastructure mobility (transport) and accessibility (to jobs). As Capillé, Soveral, and Pereira (2000) noted, the SEBRAE study shows evidence of a heavy dependency by peripheral cities in the metropolitan area on Rio city economy since around 80% of jobs in the metropolitan area are in the city of Rio itself. The study shows, in other words, that two thirds of the economically active population which do not reside in the city of Rio – almost two million inhabitants – must commute daily between the periphery and the capital. Cities served with railways are the most affected by that phenomenon, as their residents have the longest average travel time. At the same time, the areas served with railways are those with less accessibility in relation to local jobs, functioning almost exclusively as “dormitory peripheries”. Other studies corroborate these data, such as the one done by IBGE (2010), showing that much long-distance mobility in the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro (RMRJ) takes place in connections between the capital and other municipalities; another study was carried out by Instituto Pereira Passos (IPP) (Junior and Junior, 2011), reveals that the centre of Rio de Janeiro concentrates a large portion of formal jobs.

In the periphery of the RMRJ, the better the access to metropolitan mobility infrastructure, the greater the dependency on economic, political, and cultural centres –, that is, the greater the number of people who must cross the entire metropolis for the purposes of work, education, and leisure. Such an impasse implies a profound question on the effectiveness of recent grandiloquent projects of metropolitan mobility – BRT lanes, large viaducts and tunnels etc. –, which the metropolis of Rio de Janeiro underwent in recent years.

In São Paulo, the situation is not different, either. Frequently, peripheral and poorer populations have a much longer daily commuting time than the people who live in central areas and have better financial conditions (Corporación Andina de Fomento *et al.*, 2010; Rolnik and Klintowitz, 2011). That is the result of a mobility model “re-edited *ad nauseam* over the last decades” (Rolnik and Klintowitz, 2011, p. 105, our translation) and marked by two fundamental aspects: the privilege of the individual automobile and a centralising network. Even after important metropolitan mobility projects, the model continues to propagate “immobility” (Rolnik and Klintowitz, 2011, p. 105, our translation), in the sense that public transport systems are built and operate only so that peripheral workers can come and go from their jobs. The radial network design and the reduced hours at nights and weekends show how little space is given in these policy projects to foster free movement by these populations.

According to Nigriello and Oliveira, for example, the configuration of the subway and train networks in São Paulo, which offers only radial branches to the peripheries, makes it difficult for intra-peripheral relationships and for forming new centralities and sub-centralities, as, “in addition to increasing travel time, the lack of perimeter lines inhibits the formation or expansion of peripheral poles.” (Nigriello and Oliveira, 2013, p. 16, our translation). The eastern part of São Paulo is emblematic in that regard: with a consolidated occupation along the train line, it is an extensive area that still depends on the Corinthians-Itaquera Terminal as its main access to the subway network, in addition to being a “trimodal corridor”, complemented by the axis of the train tracks and roads. Strikingly, since the 1980’s, the subway expansion project towards the east, marked by an unprecedented initiative of articulation between the São Paulo Metropolitan Company (Metrô) and the São Paulo Metropolitan Housing Company (COHAB), sought to promote urban density as deeply linked to mass transport towards the centre.⁷

Therefore, despite being legitimated under the promise of access by peripheral populations to the resources of the metropolitan centrality, recent grandiloquent infrastructure projects in the two metropolises tend to facilitate the opposite direction, that is, they make it cheaper to control (human, natural etc.) resources of the peripheries. In these projects, infrastructure delineates an implicit idea on the collective that translates into a promise of access to metropolitan wealth, as long as the dominance of the hegemonic centre is maintained. Stations and other nodes in the network, thus, become fundamental instruments in the production of dependency.

3 Contract for the disenchanting collective: hyper-immobility

In the opposite direction, it is important to recognise that there has been recent effort by public planning agencies to reverse the centre-periphery scheme in these metropolises. In São Paulo, the award-winning⁸ 2014 Strategic Master Plan, elaborated during the municipal administration of Fernando Haddad, had as one of its main public policies the elaboration of Urban Structuring Axes, indicating areas under specific rules of urban and fiscal incentives, with mechanisms for activating margins of mass transport axes, thus allowing greater intensity in the use of spaces and services.

In the RMRJ, the proposition of an “archipelago of centralities” in which ideas of urban densification reinforced by the New Urban Agenda of the UN Habitat (2016) are applied. If one considers specifically the recent Integrated Urban Development Strategic Plan for the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro (2018), the direct application of the ideas on “compact city” and strategies for Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) are striking. In summary, these strategies aim to directly counter the phenomenon of urban sprawl through compact urbanities that would be more economic, discourage the use of individual cars, allow for greater protection of natural and rural areas, and favour less consumption of resources and energy etc. (Chatman, 2013; Cervero and Dai, 2014; Pescatori, 2015; Knowles, Ferbrache and Nikitas, 2020). The main objective of compact urbanity is that the city’s collective daily life should happen almost exclusively at a walkable distance from where one lives. As hyperbole, this is a project of “hyper-immobility”: the metropolis is made up of centrality islands, connected by well positioned stations (using TOD) to facilitate movement across of long distances (ideally rare) by public collective transport, reducing pendular movement as much as possible.

However, even if recommended by important national and international urban planning agencies, the application of these strategies to the Brazilian metropolitan context requires further reflection. At first, it is possible to observe two main problems for implementation: the incompatibility of our Brazilian context for these projects and the disenchantment towards the idea of collectivity as a guarantee of economic return for certain groups.

3.1 Context incompatibility

This project brings with it a series of ready-made strategies for “good urbanity,” which are fundamentally ideas of walkable density, valorisation of historic centres, and “slow culture”. Although that culture really enables images related to the quality of urban life, they can only be achieved through continuous accumulation of planetary wealth; then, it eventually serves as not more than an extra-planetary mirage of the reality of metropolitan peripheries in Latin America. For example, if one considers the project proposed by the Integrated Urban Development Plan (PDUI) of RMRJ for the potential peripheral centrality in the route Pavuna-São João de Meriti, for which TOD and compact city strategies have been designed to improve current conditions of urban precariousness, the idea of compactness becomes nonsensical: that region is the densest urban area in Latin America, in addition to being connected to railway lines, metro, and highways. In other words, a project to compact that area seems simultaneously perverse (as it encourages extreme densification in an already dense and precarious area) and alienated, displaying a lack of knowledge about local challenges.

Furthermore, these projects evoke notions of traditional public spaces – squares, sidewalks, commercial streets, small parks etc. – which are often absent in these deprived peripheral areas. Implicit in such proposals resides an inability to recognise already existing spaces for collective use (even the precarious ones) in the metropolis (Segal and Verbakel, 2008). Not to mention a form of “rhetoric of compulsory colonisation⁹” from the centre towards the periphery, exposing the mistake of simplifying generalisations built in the Global North applied to Latin American transit projects (Blanco and Apaolaza, 2018). In short, there is an incompatibility between the image derived from the recommended prescription and the reality experienced in the context of Latin American metropolitan peripheries.

3.2 The disenchantment of the collective

Considering that the main objectives are the efficiency of the return on investments in transit and the risk reduction for real estate investments¹⁰, one might call these compact city projects a “rationalization” project or, perhaps, a project of “disenchantment¹¹” of collectivity. This issue is associated with the topic of “urban commons”, a theme that has been gaining traction in international debates as a response to the growing privatisation of spaces and of life in the neoliberal system. Within this logic, the fundamental project becomes appropriating “common” practices of collective management and occupation of spaces, so they gradually become an element managed by the private sphere. The metropolitan transit project has a key role in strategies for urban neoliberalism (Lukas and López-Morales, 2018), especially when considering infrastructure exclusively through utilitarian parameters.

Alexandre Mendes and Bruno Cava (2017), based on the work of Michel Foucault, argue that, in liberalism, the idea of “civil society” ceases to have political and legal meaning, as it becomes a “governmental technological concept” (Foucault apud Mendes and Cava, 2017, p. 72, our translation), through which rationalisation principles indexed to economic processes are applied. The fundamental problem of that civil society becomes good administration (government) between private and collective interests (Mendes and Cava, 2017, p. 77, our translation), in which the “long tradition of common practices disappears (‘naturally and spontaneously’) from the constitutive dimension of society to return as a concern to be well governed by liberal art”; in other words, what is common, in liberalism, becomes a sort of “ghost that can return to collect the balance of its own death” (Mendes and Cava, 2017, p. 77, our translation). The authors call that permanent threat a

“tragedy of the common”, that is, an inversion that makes the common manifest itself as “resistance, direct confrontation against the power devices of modernity” (Mendes and Cavas, 2017, pp. 78-79, our translation). The civic premise is guaranteeing a return; the authors argue that, to manage the crises caused by the “tragedy of the common”, *laissez-faire* (liberalism) is not enough; instead, what is necessary is the constitution of a series of government devices and technologies functioning permanently to guarantee market returns (neoliberalism) (Mendes and Cavas, 2017, pp. 85–87). Neoliberalism “transforms [...] all people into ‘businessmen’ and all life into a ‘productive economic space’” (Mendes and Cavas, 2017, p. 89, our translation). Thus, the fundamental task of the neoliberal government is to manage risks, social relations, and life projects so they work at guaranteed rates of return for the market: the public space becomes a (natural) element of the financial market (Mendes and Cavas, 2017, p. 94).

In projects of compactness and TOD, the civic premise is external to the urban experience: there is no promise of an unexpected, conflicting, and heterogeneous future, but a contract for mutual truce in the replacement of current realities by another, whose history is not based on the Latin American peripheral condition and which is deeply rationalised within the efficiency of “neoliberal governability.” The common, as an everyday practice (as “commoning”), cannot be made “efficient” – as if it worked through the logic of production. It can, however, be silenced or pre-taxed by mechanisms of appropriation.

The argument we propose is that, under the promise of energy efficiency, traditional public spaces, and everyday walkability, there is a constitution of urbanity that works as a “productive economic space” in projects for compact cities, mainly for the groups that dominate transport and property market taxation systems. Moreover, that promise has taken the form of a “contract,” with numerous handbooks defending the compact city as an international model: publications and plans abound around this project as the guarantee for a more sustainable future, with calculable rates for improving quality of life and success.

4 “You deserve this infrastructure!” or: for a project to strengthen collective diversions

Both hyper-mobility and hyper-immobility seek to superimpose reality with recipes of “good urbanity” as external to these contexts. Thus, they involve an enormous and costly effort to completely transform these locations. Furthermore, the project of substitution or escape from the mundane does not allow one to take advantage of the giant political power stemming from the hybrid scalar condition of the megalopolis (local and global, simultaneously): for example, instead of simply extending the domain of Rodovia Presidente Dutra over Rio’s metropolis or simply ignoring that Rodovia Presidente Dutra already crosses the metropolis, which project could take advantage of that condition to counter systems of dependency, distance, and deficiency? Better put, which projects and strategies might strengthen the condition of “common interval” and “space of appearance” for that infrastructure in order to render it a platform that contributes to everyday political practices?



Fig. 1: Rodovia Dutra and Rua Erminda, in São João de Meriti (RJ). Google Street View, 2014¹².

The fundamental problem of hyper-mobility and hyper-immobility projects is that the infrastructural architecture lacks any other content beyond an efficient functioning of metropolitan traffic (which, within the hyper-immobility proposal, should rarely happen). Thus, the opportunity to read and design architecture as

one of the main civic and collective spaces in metropolitan urban experience is wasted (Segal *et al.*, 2008; Segal and Verbakel, 2008; Rouillard, 2018).

Considering the great complexity in the challenge of transforming transit infrastructure, it is necessary to consider the high cost of “confrontation” and the complete replacement of reality as it is given. This review does not necessarily mean covering up or, even worse, romanticising current situations; however, it means to consider a strategy that uses, recycles, and reacts based on the existing reality. Such a “hacking”¹³ or “spatial activism” (Easterling, 2014, 2017) functions as a strategy to take advantage of the current dynamic, shifting its current direction from precise and calculated operations. In order to do so, it is necessary to understand the inner workings of infrastructure, where ready-made recipes for “good urbanity” are not sufficient. That is, only by understanding typologies and dispositions of infrastructure architectures and by designing through them and their “transit state” will urban projects be able to hack/divert the current conditions of dependency, distance, and deficiency, therefore changing them from within. Some existing examples can illuminate these propositions.

In São Paulo, when developing the first metro line in the late 1960s, architect Marcello Fragelli understood, from the beginning of his process, that the stations did not need to be merely transfer tunnels between the platform and the road. Encouraged by the location of many stations in public squares¹⁴, Fragelli proposed projects in which a “free access” area – that is, before ticket offices and turnstiles – was, in various ways, open to public spaces (Gonçalves, 2015).

At the Liberdade-Japão Station, an opening to the underground is surrounded by two wide landings that establish a smooth transition between the square itself and access to the network. On these landings, there are benches and platforms that allow different forms of appropriation; the uneven floors create spaces for rest, as well as different views of the surroundings. At the São Bento Station, located in the historic centre, there is also a gap between the square and the underground access. The square between Largo de São Bento and the station is accessed by two large helical stairs with circular flowerbeds full of trees and bushes. The design of that space in exposed concrete and the landscaping project have created a new space, but do not conflict with the historic landscape in the Monastery of São Bento at the centre of the square. In the 1980s, the São Bento Station was the stage for rap concerts organised by social movements from the poor periphery, gaining a visibility that took them to new places. Renovated in 2019, the square is now managed by a shopping centre chain which kept Fragelli’s original logic in implementing new shops and included a new roof to mark the intervention.

Although these two examples are still limited to the centre of São Paulo (located, therefore, in consolidated urban fabrics and not in the periphery), they help highlight the potential of recognising infrastructure as “compulsory collective spaces.” Particularly, a striking aspect of Fragelli’s work is his understanding that, though they were “new squares,” they should not hide their condition of infrastructure – for example, Fragelli argues that the materials emphasise tunnels and underground containments – nor create other programmes that would have the “true” performance of collective spaces. In other words, it is not about adding a “compact city” or speeding up the transit system, but about understanding which elements/devices of the infrastructure already compose the condition of “compulsory collective spaces,” reinforcing them as such. That apparently collateral and marginal effect of infrastructure – that is, serving as the everyday world for the metropolitan population – becomes the central motive of the project: producing support for spontaneous, daily, and metropolitan collective practices.

5 Final considerations

In summary, we have argued that the political strength of infrastructures lies precisely in the architectural banality they produce: they form the ordinary, the mediocre, the mundane, the everyday, the background – in a kind of unquestionable nature of the Latin American metropolitan urban condition. Thus, through manipulating and reinforcing elements that constitute those as “mandatory collective spaces,” we believe it is possible to change profoundly the precarious and unequal conditions of contemporary mobility, even if in a “dissimulated” way (Easterling, 2014) through “diversion,” that is, without the high cost of confrontation and with the benefit of agility, flexibility, and reuse.

This approach proposes to converge both a transformation in the way these infrastructures are designed and the way these spaces are occupied and intervened, socially claiming mobility spaces to reinforce practices and productions of the “urban commons” in Latin America. Through that agenda of “space activism,” people will “deserve” places that are not far from everyday realities (Fig. 1), but precisely the infrastructural architectures that form the common metropolitan interval in the Latin American urban condition.

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¹ Arendt (1998, p. 199) labels as "space of appearance" places with people gathered in acts unrelated to a utilitarian or biological world. The "space of appearance" precedes the formation of a "public realm;" it is fundamental for the political condition.

² Several urban riots for the improvement of traffic conditions and against increased transit fares have marked the history of Brazil since 1880 (see Veloso, 2019). Although it is important to consider this history, in this article we do not address the evolution of the political, social, economic, technological, and cultural characteristics of urban mobility and its protests.

³ On the 2013 demonstrations see, for instance, Arantes and Schwarz (2013), Singer (2013), and Veloso (2019).

⁴ Singer (2013, p. 36-38) argues that at least three major agendas were intertwined in the 2013 uprisings: on the left, the unjust conditions of urban life; on the right, the problem of corruption; and on the centre, post-materialistic agendas of self-expression and quality of life.

⁵ By "popular class," Singer refers to salaried workers, generally young people with jobs with a signed license but who suffer from precarious working conditions, life, and income. Singer names this class as "new proletariat," noting that other authors, such as Ruy Braga, call it "precarariat."

⁶ On "common" and on "communing," see Dardot and Laval (2017), Angelis (2017), Buck-Morss (2016), and Oyarzun (2015)..

⁷ It is important to consider that, though integrated as a strategy, mobility and housing projects have deep lags in terms of implementation. For example, in Itaquera, the subway was inaugurated nearly a decade after investments in housing.

⁸ The Strategic Master Plan of São Paulo of 2014 was one of the four awarded initiatives by the United Nations (UN) in 2017, by an evaluation committee from the Public Call for Innovative Practices of the New Urban Agenda.

⁹ We draw a parallel with the theory of colonisation, in which the lack of "faith," "law", and "king" suggests an opportunity for contagion, exploitation, and compulsory correction (Cunha, 1990; Viveiros de Castro, 1992). In this case, the lack of traditional public spaces suggests a need to project them for peripheries.

¹⁰ See, for example: the defence of BRT advantages in ensuring these two aspects in Cervero and Dai's argument (2014, p. 136); the fundamental position affirmed in the TOD Quality Standard manual (2013), published by ITDP, that real estate investors are fundamental for the process of building compact cities; or the synthesis by Vasconcellos (2018, p. 90), for whom TOD simply means a project for land use changes.

¹¹ The term "disenchantment" refers to the idea of "disenchantment of the world" elaborated by Max Weber. His idea synthesises the process of complete rationalization of life, in which the ideas of profit, efficiency, and cost/benefit appear as the fundamental ethics of society and their relationship with the future (Pierucci, 2003). The future is made from investment contracts with guaranteed rates of return. Probably in reference to that term, Manfredo Tafuri calls New York City "a disenchanted mountain" (TAFURI *apud* Grossman, 2019), underlining the fundamental logic of capitalist production materialized in Manhattan's skyscrapers.

¹² Available in: <https://bit.ly/2U53Dwv>. Accessed on: 18 May 2021.

¹³ We elaborate on this term in another article, focused on the work by Easterling (2014; 2017; 2019).

[14](#) At the time of the construction of the first subway line in São Paulo, the city already had a very dense urban center. Among other reasons, the stations were implanted in public squares to avoid construction disorders and expropriation processes.